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### PLATO'S COLLEGE<sup>1</sup>

Neither Homer nor Sophocles, neither Virgil nor Horace, neither Milton nor Shakespeare wrote for school boys and girls. If we base our education on the hundred great books, and if we read these books only during our student days, when our minds are still immature, then a great and precious inheritance, the classical tradition, is put to a poor and uneconomical use. And yet there are some classical authors who wrote for students of college age, and it is their books which should be studied with particular care by our young people. Cicero's *Offices* is one of these books, written for Cicero's young son Marcus, who was at that time about twenty-one years of age. The educational purpose of Cicero's work is only too often neglected by mature scholars who criticize its superficial and rhetorical treatment of serious moral problems. Plato was another one of the great classical authors who wrote many of his books for young readers, and whose books can accordingly be studied with great profit by young people, especially of college age. Although this seems a sur-

prising statement to make about the work of one of the greatest and deepest philosophers, it is a statement which seems to be in line with Plato's own literary aim. We may ask, What was the purpose of Plato's *Dialogues*? For whom did he write them? The answer to these questions lies in the *characters* whom Plato introduces in his dialogues, and in whom he seems to be particularly interested. For it is generally true that the kind of people who appear prominently in a play, a poem, or a story provide an indication of the kind of people for whom the play, the poem, or the story is written. The very nature of literary illusion, imitation, and make-believe requires that the reader must be able to identify himself with at least one of the characters in the book which he is reading or which is being read or recited to him.

If we approach Plato's *Dialogues* with this consideration in mind, we immediately discover that many of them deal significantly with problems of great concern to young men of college age. Moreover, the main characters of the dialogues are teachers, poets, and young people themselves. This is particularly true for the largest group of the so-called Socratic dialogues, but it applies even to the *Parmenides*, in which Socrates appears as a young man of twenty, while Aristotle, who serves as *Parmenides'* partner in the second half of the book, is said to be even younger. The *Phaedrus* contains

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on April 28, 1951.

Socrates' conversation with a young man who had been attending, possibly as a pupil, a lecture given by Lysias. The *Republic*, although concerned with the problems of justice and of the Ideal State, is for the most part a discussion between Socrates and the two youthful brothers of Plato. The *Protagoras*, which is studied to-day for its profound views on the relationship of virtue and knowledge, is concerned with a young man's choice of a suitable teacher. The famous *Banquet*, with its poetic examination of the nature of love, has a youthful setting which is emphasized not only by the presence of Phaedrus, Agathon, and Alcibiades, but also by the Diotima episode, which took place at a time when Socrates himself was a young man. Even the poet Aristophanes must not be thought of as being much older than the youthful Alcibiades. The *Phaedo* contains Socrates' views on the immortality and divine nature of the soul, expressed by the aged Socrates, who is about to die; yet the dialogue itself is conducted by Socrates and two young men, Cebes and Simias, and it is reported by Phaedo, who at the time of Socrates' death was barely eighteen years of age.

The impression cannot be avoided that the greatest of Plato's dialogues contain discussions of the most important problems of life, presented in a manner appropriate to the mind of a young man. And this impression is confirmed by the earlier dialogues, which reveal for the most part the way in which Socrates conducted his conversations with the young men of his acquaintance. All these dialogues, in which the figure of Socrates dominates the discussion, are a monument erected by Plato to his much admired teacher, with whom he himself associated while he was in his twenties or even younger. Socrates is represented not only as a great teacher, but especially as the ideal teacher of young men; this presentation demonstrates clearly the wickedness of the indictment which charged that Socrates corrupted the young men with whom he associated. But these dialogues are also Plato's attempt at perpetuating Socratic education so that it may become available to all those who never knew this great teacher. Unless we read and study Plato's dialogues with these considerations in mind, we are plainly ignoring the purpose for which they were written.

There is a clear distinction between the kind of education conveyed by Plato's Socratic dialogues and the professional education of the philosopher which Plato himself described in the *Republic*, at the very time when he opened the Academy and began his own professional teaching. The philosopher's education is systematic, and is designed to increase the student's ability to think abstractly. Accordingly, Plato suggests beginning with arithmetic and moving through plane and solid geometry to astronomy, acoustics, and finally to logic and dialectic. Each step requires a higher degree of abstract thinking, each being more formal than the preceding, until at the end Plato expected his philosopher to attain the vision

of the absolute. In contrast to this plan of study, the education provided by the *Dialogues* is not systematic but protreptic. Following the example of Socrates, Plato tries to call his reader's attention to the significance of certain problems and questions, and to offer a number of pertinent answers and solutions. What matters is not the *finality* of the answers but the *relevance* of the questions. And the questions are asked by the teacher, not by the student.

Socrates had been indicted and condemned to die because of the harmful effect his education was alleged to have had upon the young men who associated with him. When Plato presented Socratic education in his *Dialogues* he was accordingly supporting methods and principles which stood condemned in the public eye. And yet there is in the *Dialogues* little polemic or hostility directed

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against the people who had executed Socrates. This again shows their truly educational purpose, which did not permit the introduction of material which would have distracted the young man. There is polemic in the *Dialogues*, but it is directed significantly against other educators, the Sophists, and against another concept of education, the Sophistic. It is hard for us today to distinguish historically between Plato's criticism of the Sophists of Socrates' day and of the Sophistic education of Plato's time. Nor is it necessary for our purposes to make such a distinction. Sophistic education, whether of the fifth or fourth century B.C. or of our age, is based on the same principal aim, it is practical, and may be called vocational. While Plato, following Socrates, is concerned with the health of a young man's soul, while he turns his reader's attention towards the true goal of virtue, Sophistic education, even in its best form, teaches the young man how to get a job and how to keep it, how to win friends and influence people, that is, how to make a "success" of his life. Plato's reader, on the other hand, becomes slowly aware of the peculiar meaning of some of the abstract terms, and he begins to appreciate the significance of friendship, love, courage, moderation, wisdom, and justice. He learns to pay attention to his own soul, to creation around him, and especially to the transcendental values which appear as guide-posts of human conduct. Plato rejected Sophistic education not because it was practical, but because it claimed to be practical without actually being so. To win a trial or a friend without knowing the nature of justice or friendship is not only impractical, it may even be harmful, for the friend may deceive you and the trial, though won, may be your undoing. Vocational education, as Plato saw it and as we must see it today, is limited, incomplete, and aimless, because it strives after the acquisition of practical skill and techniques, as if there could be a blueprint of virtue and a measuring stick for justice.

Plato rejected Sophistic education, and attempted to replace its practical and vocational aims by absolute and general concepts. But Plato's education was meant also as a substitute for the conventional and traditional Greek education based on epic, dramatic, and lyric poetry. Recitations of Homer and of the works of other poets were about all that traditional Greek education had to offer. We know this from the works of the historians and of the playwrights, as well as from Plato's *Dialogues* themselves. The only references which these books contain and which were expected to be understood by the readers or by the audience were references to poetry. In Plato's eyes this poetry was unsuitable for educational purposes in general, and especially for the education of young and still immature minds. He would not only agree with us when we maintain that the great poets of the past did not write for young men of college age, but he would add that their works serve no educational purpose and are often harmful to the formation of a good

character. Plato felt, as many of our educators do, that the presentation of deceitful, immoral, and impious characters on the stage or in stories has an evil effect upon people and especially upon young people. The creation of poetic illusion encourages impersonation and imitation, and although the poet may insist that crime does not pay, the reader, and especially the youthful reader, may feel that he himself might get away with it. This censorship of poetry seems to be stupid and unwarranted, but it certainly has many followers today. Parent and church organizations have not only purged our comic books, novels, movies, and theatrical productions, but they have also encouraged the creation of highly moral books and plays.

Plato followed the same course. He not only condemned existing poetry which contained morally offensive characters and subjects, but he courageously attempted to write the kind of stories which he thought young men should be told. No one can read Plato's spirited criticism of poetry without the feeling that Plato himself had poetic aims. And indeed, most of Plato's Socratic dialogues are not only poetic in language but also dramatic in composition. Unforgettable are the scenes of the *Banquet*, which has often been acted on the stage, of the *Protagoras*, and of the *Phaedrus* and the *Phaedo*, but many of the other dialogues have the same dramatic quality. It is not sufficient to say that Plato was influenced by Greek tragedy and by the practice of Socrates. In choosing the poetic form of the dialogue, he deliberately entered into competition with poetry, just as the Sophists had done when they delivered their artful lectures and disputes before especially assembled audiences. But Plato aimed not merely at competition but also at substitution. Since he was convinced that traditional Greek poetry had no beneficial influence on the education of the young, or was even harmful, his own dialogues were to make up for this deficiency. It is therefore legitimate to compare the treatment of similar problems in Greek tragedy and in Plato's dialogues.

Piety, Justice, Courage, Love, Friendship: they all appear as central issues both in tragedy and in Plato's books. As mature poetic treatments, Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and *Prometheus*, the *Oedipus* plays of Sophocles, and even the *Bacchae* of Euripides may be masterful and unsurpassed, but Plato's *Euthyphro* reveals more clearly to the immature mind the basic problems of piety which he has to face. Love and Friendship, too, are the theme of a number of plays of which I should like to mention the *Philoctetes* and the *Hippolytus*; Plato's dialogues on this subject, such as for instance the *Banquet*, the *Lysis*, and the *Phaedrus*, are far better from an educational viewpoint. The same applies not only to the problem of Courage, but also to that of Justice. The *Suppliant Women* of Aeschylus, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, and many of the plays of Euripides focus our attention on various concepts and aspects of Justice. Yet a young

man who is supposed to learn how to act justly would gain far less from reading these plays than from a study of Plato's *Gorgias* and of the great *Republic*. In short, Plato's *Dialogues* are perhaps the most ambitious undertaking in the whole history of education, and Plato evidently hoped that his books would replace the vocational education of the Sophists and make it unnecessary to use Greek poetry for educational purposes.

Unfortunately, Plato's *Dialogues* fell into the hands of professional philosophers, who saw in them profound statements of Plato's systematic philosophy. Being unable to detect in Plato's preserved books the development of a logically non-contradictory system, they used them as a hunting ground in which they tried to capture the elements of such a system, which they felt sure existed. Their search was fruitful and rewarding, for Plato, who was a philosopher, could not help but indicate here and there certain basic convictions which he held to be true. But to construct out of innumerable passages, however significant, a system of Platonic philosophy is a task as difficult as to derive a system of Sophoclean thought from the plays of that poet, even if all of them were preserved. Whatever may be the success of such an undertaking, it should be clear that it uses Plato's *Dialogues* for a purpose quite different from that for which they were composed. Moreover, these students of philosophy are blind to the poetic nature and protreptic character of Plato's *Dialogues*; this means that they ignore the essentially educational purpose which Plato had in mind.

\* \* \*

After presenting this admittedly superficial and by no means novel account of the educational nature of Plato's *Dialogues*, I am tempted to turn your attention to the problem of liberal education in general, and especially in the field of the classics; for I think that Plato's *Dialogues* fulfill the aims of liberal education. Education may be characterized as being first elementary and factual, then liberal and general, and, finally, specialized and professional. These are, of course, distinctions which apply to aspects of the whole rather than to separate periods. In classical education the study of the ancient languages is obviously the fundamental and elementary part. The content and purpose of its professional phase would be equally clear, were it not for the recent addition of vocational requirements. Yet the aim of graduate study in the classics must be the knowledge of classical antiquity, and the method must be classical scholarship as it has been developed during the past centuries and millennia. We may remember, in this connection, Plato's education of the philosopher, which he described theoretically in the *Republic*, and of which he gave a practical example in the Academy and during his stay in Sicily.

Elementary instruction and professional training, by their very nature, however, cannot constitute the whole of education in any particular field and certainly not in

the classics, though it is often the case that elementary instruction is immediately continued by professional training; hence many students are discouraged from studying the classics at all. When education has thus become half elementary and half professional, the students miss liberal education itself, the kind provided by Plato for the readers of his *Dialogues*. Liberal education is in danger today of elimination because it is under very heavy and, unfortunately, justified pressure on both sides. Squeezed between indispensable elementary instruction and required professional training, it has been reduced to a decreasing number of free electives. Moreover, liberal education is suffering from the lack of an aim. This weakness has deprived liberal education of proper respect and serious concern among students, teachers, and administrators alike, for it is considered as entertainment by the pupils and as popularization by the scholars.

Let me suggest, however, that the aims of liberal education and the educational aim of Plato's *Dialogues* are one and the same. Plato tried to convey to the reader of his dialogues the importance and relevance of the main issues of human existence. He tried to lead his reader from the practical problems and their solutions to a consideration of the permanent and essential meaning of their temporary circumstances. He told them that the problems of Friendship, Courage, Justice, and Piety could not be solved by an attempt to cope with the particular cases as they occurred, but only by understanding the true and invariable nature of all abstract concepts. Plato's education is therefore liberal because it frees man from his false notions; it is also liberal because it is neither systematic nor doctrinaire. But how can a liberal education, admittedly undogmatic, be relevant and significant? How can the mere presentation of questions without precise answers contribute to finding the *right* way which leads to true understanding? This is a Platonic question, and it applies to Plato's college as well as to our liberal arts college. Plato's college is liberal without being either agnostic or relativistic. Neither must our liberal education be dogmatic, but it must show our young men the goals towards which they should strive, and the ways along which others have travelled towards the same goals. This is an aim well worth pursuing; it is distinct from the aims of elementary and professional education, and its acceptance would give purpose, meaning, and distinction to liberal education.

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# PETRONIUS AND THE EMPERORS, II: PAX PALAMEDES!<sup>\*</sup>

## III

"But tell us," says Trimalchio to Habinnas, "what did you have for dinner?"<sup>1</sup> That voluble guest, member of a college of priests and by trade a cutter of gravestones, had just arrived at Trimalchio's, still dressed in his dinner suit. He was, if we may be permitted an appropriate piece of current slang, pretty well "draped" (*iam ebrui*). On his brow rested several wreaths; sweet ointments trickled down his forehead into his eyes. "I will tell you if I can," replies Habinnas, "but my memory is in such a fine way that I often forget my own name." The bill-of-fare which follows is rather terrifying, including a pig wearing a wine-goblet for a crown, and bear-meat—the only reference, I believe, to this delicacy in Latin literature (though Arctic travelers report that polar bear tastes like pork, a favorite Roman dish).<sup>2</sup> "To finish up, we had cheese mellowed in new wine, and snails all around, and pieces of tripe, and liver in little dishes, eggs *en petit chapeau*, turnips, mustard, and an overripe ragout. *Pax Palamedes!*"<sup>3</sup>

Aside from its alliterative ring, what is the meaning of the exclamation *Pax Palamedes*? Commentators have usually taken *pax* as the interjection, *silentium imponens*,<sup>4</sup> but have been at a loss to explain *Palamedes*.

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from *CW* 45 (1951/52) 167.

<sup>1</sup> Petronius 66.1.

<sup>2</sup> I read here (66.5) *ursinae frustum* with H and Stephen Gaselee in his unpublished dissertation on the text of Petronius (library, Cambridge University). On Gaselee's dissertation, see A. F. Gow, *CQ* 38 (1944) 77. Modern editors usually correct to *frustum*. But see 38.1 *credrae* for *cedrae*; 38.5 *culcitrae* for *culcitrae*. There is an allusion to the eating of bear in Tertullian *Apol.* 9.11: *Ipsorum ursorum alvei appetuntur cruditates* [suffering indigestion] *ad hoc de visceribus humanis; ructatur ab homine caro pasta de homine*. . . . Tertullian's accusation may be interpreted as a riposte against pagan charges that cannibalism was practised at the Christian eucharist (Porphyrius *De abstinentia* 2.8, 4.21; Frag. 69. Cf. Pliny *Epist.* 96.7, Lucian *Peregr.* 16). For a convenient collection of anti-Christian texts, with selective bibliographies, see W. Den Boer, *Scriptorum Paganorum I-IV Saec. de Christianis Testimonia* (Leyden 1948). U. E. Paoli, *Stilal*, N.S., 15 (1938) 43-53, employs the Tertullian passage, together with the absence of any reference outside Petronius to the eating of bear's meat in Neronian times, to argue a post-Tertullian date for the *Satyricon*. But we remark in the work a minute familiarity with the quirks and personal peculiarities of at least one of the Julio-Claudian emperors, and a verve in satirizing them that must have been long since transcended by the third century A.D. Paoli's reversion to a late date for the *Satyricon* has provoked the most vigorous Petronian controversy in recent years, some fifteen articles or monographs having been devoted to the question between 1937 and 1942. For a balanced discussion of what may be termed Paoli's excessively "tight" interpretation of juridical and prosopographical evidence, see Wilhelm Süss, *Gnomon* 14 (1938) 643-647.

<sup>3</sup> Petronius 66.7. H. Blümner, *Philologus* 76 (1920) 347 thinks the *ova pillecta* were hard-boiled, with a section of shell resting on top of each like a cap, in which to hold the egg while eating it.

<sup>4</sup> Plautus *Mil.* 808; Terence *Heaut.* 291, 717; J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache* (Heidelberg 1926) 24.

Basing his interpretation on Petronius' love of word-play, Stowasser analyses *Palamedes* as *palam* + *edo*, in allusion to the shameless board from which Habinnas had just come.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Plautus in *Menaechni* has a cook named Culindrus and in *Miles Gloriosus* a rascally slave Sceledrus. Plautus forms Charinus from *careo*,<sup>6</sup> and puns on Archidemides: "His very name shows he'll rob me (*demo*)."<sup>7</sup>

In support of Stowasser's hypothesis, overlooked by most editors of Petronius, one recalls the various *redende Nomen* of the *Satyricon*—Carpus ("carver"), Encolpius ("lap-darling"), Ascyrtos ("untiring"), Giton ("neighbor"), Tryphaena ("voluptuary"). Other Petronian names which are chosen with an eye to personal characteristics are Menelaus, Daedalus, Ganymedes, Oenoe, Scylax, Doris, Pannychis. Significant appellations for *filles de joie* are as old as Archilochus' Pasiphile.<sup>8</sup> The meaning of the name Trimalchio has been a subject of controversy for three hundred years. Woeweren derived it from *iris* and *malakos*; Gonsalas even emended to Malcio, but retracted the emendation.<sup>9</sup> Nodot, in his Preface (p. liv) to the forged manuscript of his allegedly complete *Satyricon* (Rotterdam 1692)<sup>10</sup> accordingly translated Trimalchio *ter mollis*. A gloss defines *malchio* (upon what information we do not know) as *adès*,<sup>11</sup> and it is a curious fact that there are anticipations of Trimalchio's eccentricities that are so exact as to be startling in *The Unpleasant Man (Aëdia)*, as well as in *The Man of Petty Ambition (Mikrophilotimia)* and several other *Characteres* of Theophrastus.<sup>12</sup> But as early

<sup>5</sup> J. M. Stowasser, *WS* 6 (1884) 208-209.

<sup>6</sup> *Pseud.* 747.

<sup>7</sup> *Bacch.* 281-282. For the appropriate name in Roman comedy, see Friedrich Ritschl, "Quaestiones Onomastologicae Comicae," in his *Opuscula Philologica* 3 (Leipzig 1877) 301-351; William M. Seaman, *The Appropriate Name in Plautus* (Diss., Illinois, 1939); James C. Austin, *The Significant Name in Terence* (Urbana, Ill. 1922); = *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. VII, No. 4). For Petronius: J. W. Downer, *Metaphors and Word Plays in Petronius* (Diss., Pennsylvania, 1913) 68-70; A. H. Saloni, *Die Griechischen und Griechische in Petrons Cena Trimalchionis* (Helsinki & Leipzig 1927); = *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, Vol. II, No. 1) 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Frag. 15 Diehl. Compare Suidas, s.v. *Musachnè*.

<sup>9</sup> *Gonsalvi Praeludia*, in Appendix p. 298, of the first edition of Petronius by Petrus Burmannus (Utrecht 1709).

<sup>10</sup> On this strange edition, see J. E. Pétrequin, *Nouvelles recherches historiques et critiques sur Pétrone* (Paris 1869) 111-122. On its date: Albert Collignon, *Pétrone en France* (Paris 1905) 79.

<sup>11</sup> *CGL* II 126-127. Compare Henry Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* (Oxford 1889) 522; Franz Buecheler, *Neues Schwäbisch-Museum* 3 (1863) 29.

<sup>12</sup> The subject of Petronius' debt to Theophrastus has not been sufficiently investigated. The best study to date is Martin Rosenbluth, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren* (Diss., Kiel, 1909) 56-60. See also the first instalment of the present article, note 48.

as the seventeenth century the name of Petronius' famous freedman was suspected to be of Semitic origin.<sup>13</sup> Professor Hadas states that Malchio is derived from the Semitic root meaning king, which is "frequently used like its equivalent *rex* for a very wealthy or elegant person; the *tri-* is an intensive prefix as in *trifur*, *Trismegistus*."<sup>14</sup> We may assume, then, that whether Trimalchio means "triply soft" or "great tycoon," it, too, is a "significant name."

That the name Palamedes, however, may not be logically accessible to interpretation as a pun follows from this fact: Of the significant or punning personal names which we have cited, all except Carpus and possibly Trimalchio are from the Greek. Against Stowasser's *adere*, it must be observed further that this verb occurs only twice in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.<sup>15</sup> Vulgar Latin prefers *comedere* (Spanish *comer*), and *manducare* (archetype of Italian *mangiare* and French *manger*), which occur ten times and twice respectively in the *Satyricon*. If Palamedes is not a pun, two explanations remain open. Either an actual guest so named is present at the *Cena*, or the word conceals some literary or historical reference. Paratore favors the former, contending that Palamedes is a slave of Habinnas who attends his master at the banquet, has been imprudent enough to guffaw at his stupidity, and is suitably rebuked by the said Habinnas with a stern *Pax, Palamedes!*<sup>16</sup> No such guest, however, is mentioned elsewhere. On the literary side, although diverse tales were told of Palamedes by the cyclic and tragic poets,<sup>17</sup> Petronian scholars have

been content to advert to Palamedes as the type of inventiveness, proverbial for his ingenuity in Old Comedy,<sup>18</sup> conjecturing that Habinnas' ejaculation was a stock phrase involving popular wonder at the amazing variety of Palamedes' alleged discoveries, such as the alphabet, lighthouses, dice, weights and measures, the discus.<sup>19</sup> One might compare the English exclamation "Great balls of fire!" The relevance of the expression to our context would then be that the *variety* of the courses Habinnas describes is as great as that of Palamedes' devices.<sup>20</sup> This exegesis seems scarcely less ingenious than Palamedes himself. It has even been suggested<sup>21</sup> that the latter's name is employed as a polite paraphrase for *phen!* alluding at once to the letter *phi* which Palamedes "invented"<sup>22</sup> and to the disgust which Habinnas felt at the vile mess (*catillum concacatum*) he has just described. But is it in keeping with the realism of Petronian portrayal of the *petites gens* that so recondite a piece of erudition should spring naturally to the mind of the drunken *lapidarius*?<sup>23</sup>

May it not be that by exclusive subservience to linguistic interpretations we have overlooked an answer available to the literary-historical method? Specifically, can we establish a contemporary allusion in the word Palamedes? "The significance of the name," remarks a recent authority, "will depend largely on what it might be expected to suggest to the Roman readers in the time of Petronius."<sup>24</sup>

## IV

Needless to say, absolute demonstration eludes us. But if in the preceding analysis we have succeeded in elevating a tenable assumption by presumptive if not incontrovertible evidence to the status of a working hypothesis, it is logical to expect that new light may be cast not only on the Petronian text as it is studied in conjunction with other authors, but on those other writers as well. We propose as trial cases two historical events in the principate of the last of the Julio-Claudians and, finally, the *pax* of *Palamedes*.

<sup>13</sup> Johannes Scheffer, *Miscellanea* (Amsterdam 1698) and Erhard quoted in Burmannus (*supra*, n. 9) 97. Trimalchio himself says *Ex Asia veni*. . . (Petronius 75.10). For the case against Semitic influence in the *Satyricon*, see Luigi Pepe, "Presunti elementi ebraici in Petronio," *Giorn. It. di Filol. Class.* 2 (1949) 269-272. Professor Pepe holds certain names, e.g. Habinnas, to be of Anatolian rather than Hebrew origin.

<sup>14</sup> Moses Hadas, "Oriental Elements in Petronius," *AJP* 50 (1929) 379. The neoplatonist Porphyrius was a Syrian originally named Malchus, from Syro-Phoenician *melech*, "king" (cf. the Hebrew name Abimelech). The designation by which he is commonly known, "the one clad in purple," is thus a Greek paraphrase of his name. See Porphyrius *Vita Plotini* 17; Eunapius *Vit. Soph.* 456. According to L. Günther, *Die deutsche Gaunersprache und verwandte Geheim- und Berufssprachen* (Leipzig 1919) 7, 22, there was current until recently in the ghettos of central Europe the expression *Jowen Malchus*. *Jowen* is a corruption of *Jawdin*, the earliest Hebrew word for the Greeks ("Ionians"). *Jowen Malchus* meant Russia, *Jowen* because of the Greek faith, *Malchus* from the later Hebrew word *Malchuth*, "kingdom." *Melachs-Mokum* was Frankfurt am Main, that is "King's City." Reference to Günther's monograph I owe to the kindness of Miss Zanita Youman of the School of General Studies, Columbia University.

<sup>15</sup> 56.5, 66.3.

<sup>16</sup> Ettore Paratore (ed.), *Il Satyricon di Petronio* (Florence 1933) II 237.

<sup>17</sup> Ludwig Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin 1923) II 3.2.1091-1092, 1127-1135, especially 1128, note 3.

<sup>18</sup> Eupolis, *Frag.* 351 (from Athenaeus 1.17e). For Palamedes' inventions see Roscher, *Ausführliche Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Myth.* III 1.1268-1271.

<sup>19</sup> Ernst Wüst, "Palamedes," *RE* 18 (1942) 2509.

<sup>20</sup> Gerhard Bendz, "Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Petron," *Eranos* 39 (1941) 44-46.

<sup>21</sup> Stowasser *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5).

<sup>22</sup> Pliny *NH* 7.56.192; Suidas, s.v. *Palamedēs*.

<sup>23</sup> For Petronius' perceptiveness of characterization, see Émile Thomas, *L'envers de la société romaine d'après Pétrone* (Paris 1913) 106-136; F. F. Abbott, "The Use of Language as a Means of Characterization in Petronius," *CP* 2 (1907) 43-50.

<sup>24</sup> Gaylia M. Goode, *The Appropriate Name in Petronius*. . . (Urbana, Ill. 1941) 4. This is an abstract of a doctoral thesis of the same title accepted by the University of Illinois, 1938. The emphasis is mine.

One of the most memorable witticisms at Nero's expense was bruited about at the time of the revolt in Gaul under Vindex (68 A.D.). Nero, like Trimalchio, delighted in puns.<sup>25</sup> On this occasion, according to Suetonius, he was the victim of one: *Ascriptum et columnis ETIAM GALLOS EUM CANTANDO EXCI-TASSE*.<sup>26</sup> This could mean that our melorheic despot had roused the Gauls to rebellion by his singing, or (as it has been interpreted) that he had awaked the cocks by his crowing (*cantando*).<sup>27</sup> But I think the paronomasia turns rather on the well-known superstition that the cock's crow, especially if untimely, is bad luck. This belief is characteristic of *The Superstitious Man* in Theophrastus.<sup>28</sup> Readers of Thomas Hardy remember how effectively it is employed in a crucial scene of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*.<sup>29</sup> Germanicus, a man of refined sensibilities and broad intellectual culture, was nevertheless, like all of us, subject to some of the crass delusions of his time, among them a horror of the rooster that crowed in the night.<sup>30</sup> If our interpretation of the pun against Nero be correct, there may be new point to the following passage of the *Cena*:

Just as he was speaking, the cock crowed. The sound disconcerted Trimalchio; he ordered wine to be poured under the table and even the lamp sprinkled with pure wine. Moreover, he shifted his ring to the right hand, and observed, "'Tis not for nothing yon chancieuler sounds off. It means something alright. Either there's a fire in the offing or somebody around here will be yielding up the ghost. Not on us, O Lord! So whoever fetches in that informer gets his purse lined."<sup>31</sup>

Extant sources do not apprise us whether Nero was prey to the common dread of cockcrowing, but it is not hard to imagine that he was. Addicted to astrology, like Trimalchio, we know him to have been.<sup>32</sup> We shall presently see that he was credulous. Suetonius devotes a chapter to his irrational beliefs and the rites which

they inspired.<sup>33</sup> The saying about the Gauls (or cocks) that had excited him, viewed *vis à vis* the prodigy in the *Satyricon*, may be taken as corroborative evidence that Nero was in fact under this delusion. It explains why Petronius inserted the episode and further fortifies that hypothesis of Neronian reminiscence which is the subject of this paper.

Our second historical event is so strange that to understand it requires accurate acquaintance with the feeling-tone of the Neronian period—its self-hypnosis concerning a new Golden Age aborning. From Africa in 65 A.D. there came to seek audience with Nero a certain Caesellius Bassus with a story of having recovered the buried treasure of Dido, ponderous masses of gold ingots in a cave near Carthage. The prince publicized the alleged discovery at once without investigation and dispatched several of his swiftest triremes to bring back the spoil. There ensued a fantastic scene. The professors of eloquence invented servile flatteries and expatiated with great resonance: the earth now burgeoned with unexampled abundance, prosperity had come to stay, the gods offered gold on every hand. People talked of nothing else. Nero squandered present funds recklessly in confidence of unseen subterranean riches.<sup>34</sup>

At this juncture of affairs, as in Andersen's fairy tale of *The King's New Clothes*, only a single voice uttered a home truth in words of common sense. It was, as we might have expected, that of a strolling philosopher of Diogenes' band, Isidorus the Cynic. As he was passing along a public street he loudly taunted Nero "because he was a good singer of the ills of Nauplius, but made ill use of his own goods."<sup>35</sup> Recently it has been demonstrated that the allusion which gives point to Isidorus' *bon mot* concerns the manner of Palamedes' death. From this allusion so understood there follows, I think, an entailment which will be of assistance in elucidating the *Satyricon*. Palamedes son of Nauplius, according to a story known to the imperial age, was induced by Odysseus and Diomedes to enter a well in search of buried treasure which they pretended was hidden there. The two heroes then burked Palamedes by filling the well with stones.<sup>36</sup> Nero in his *Nauplius* presumably treated Palamedes' disastrous quest for treasure, and Isidorus' remark is accordingly a hit at Nero's own comparable folly and the mad extravagance which attended his treasure hunt. (Later, Nauplius, who was king of

<sup>25</sup> Suetonius *Nero* 33; Petronius 35.7, 36.5-8, 41.7, 56. Trimalchio's were not malicious, like Nero's.

<sup>26</sup> Suetonius *Nero* 45.

<sup>27</sup> So H. C. Nutting, "Juvenal 3.86-91," *CW* 26 (1932/33) 136.

<sup>28</sup> *Char.* 16.8.

<sup>29</sup> Chapter 33.

<sup>30</sup> See the telling use made of this trait by Robert Graves, *I, Claudius* (New York 1934) 295. References for the popularity of this belief could, of course, be multiplied. Two may be given here: Matt. 26:74-75 and Pliny *NH* 10.49. According to Eduard Stemplinger, "Abergläubisches bei Petronius," *NJbb* 4 (1928) 324, the rooster was sacred to Zoroaster in Iranian, to Pluto and Helios in Greco-Roman folklore. See, for example, Pausanias 5.25.9. Its unseasonable outcry was in ancient as in modern times invariably of ill omen.

<sup>31</sup> Petronius 74.1-3. The superstitions and superstitious acts in this episode are with slight variations still current on the Italian countryside. See Anthony Rini, "Popular Superstitions in Petronius and Italian Superstitions of To-day," *CW* 22 (1928/29) 84.

<sup>32</sup> Suetonius *Nero* 36; Petronius 76.10.

<sup>33</sup> *Nero* 56. A prodigy, not wholly unlike that just quoted, may be cited from Philostratus *VA* 4.43: "... for while Nero sat at meat a thunderbolt fell on the table, and clove the cup which was in his hands and was close to his lips. . . ."

<sup>34</sup> Tacitus *Ann.* 16.1-3.

<sup>35</sup> Suetonius *Nero* 39.

<sup>36</sup> Dictys Cretensis *De bello Troiano* 2.15. As to the date of Isidorus' comment, I accept the evidence for its connection with Nero's treasure-hunt assembled by R. S. Rogers, "Isidorus the Cynic and Nero," *CW* 39 (1945/46) 53-54.

Euboea, sailed to the Greeks and claimed satisfaction. Rebuffed, he contrived that the wives of the Greeks should play their husbands false, and by kindling misleading beacon flares on Mt. Caphareus lured many ships of the returning warriors to destruction.<sup>37</sup>) Let us draw together the elements of the tragi-comedy. Are they not first the idle yarn of buried treasure that stultified the emperor, and second the Cynic philosopher who brought the king up short? Now if Petronius, official rascal and ironic *advocatus diaboli*, were to make jocular mention of buried treasure and coincidentally of a Cynic philosopher, would it not be a plausible inference that any such passage might profitably be read in the light of Nero's fatuous gold-hunt and his *contretemps* with the Cynic Isidorus? Such is in fact the case and such consequently must, I think, be our inference. In the *Cena Trimalchionis* an open-mouthed freedman in a eulogium of his highly solvent neighbor passes this comment:

People do say—I don't know how true it is but I've heard tell—that he pulled off a goblin's cap and found hidden treasure. I grudge no man's fortune, if God has really given it. Still, he shows the marks of his master's [or mistress'] fingers [possibly a reference to Agrippina, who died in 60 A.D.], and has a fine opinion of himself. . . .<sup>38</sup>

To the wight who came upon this buried treasure Petronius with arch complacency assigns the name of Isidorus' great prototype, even Diogenes. One can well imagine with what impudent zest the cunning master, arbiter of all elegance, laid into his knavish canvas strokes at once relentlessly mischievous and supremely delicate in their allusiveness, well knowing that in playing upon transactions which were both very recent and (as Tacitus says) on every one's tongue, the tracery of the arabesque was susceptible of almost infinite refinement.

# V

And so having accomplished a prodigious circuit we return to the point of our departure, where we so rudely left the enigmatic son of Nauplius hanging in mid-air. *Pax Palamedes!* We thought at the outset that mere alliteration seemed a quite inadequate motivation for that exclamation. We must now be unequivocal about it. Trimalchio's guest of honor most probably is juggling some allusion which would be recognizable to contemporary readers and would give the expression point. A satisfactory solution, it may be suggested, would optatively meet the following requirements: (1) harmony with the myth, preferably with a version received in the first century A.D., (2) contemporaneity of allusion, preferably in the sense of notoriety in the Julio-Claudian *bon ton*, (3) some degree of inner concinnity, i.e. *pax* and *Palamedes* need to stand in a viable reciprocal adjustment one to the other.

Let us fill each of the prescribed items with the best simple on the shelf and see whether the specific thus compounded is critically (if not clinically) sanitative. According to a widely accepted version, Odysseus, by means of a forged letter from Priam, succeeds in convicting Palamedes of connivance with the enemy. The supposed treachery has to do with receiving money from Priam for provisions he was said to have furnished to the king. Using the term with some latitude, Palamedes stands forth as possibly a collaboratorist; even our fullest consecutive account (Philostratus' *Heroicus*<sup>39</sup>) conveys no hint of his pacifism. Particular interest attaches, therefore, to Sinon's variation in *Aeneid* 2.83-85:

. . . quem falsa sub prodicione Pelasgi  
insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat  
demisere neci.

Here Palamedes stands accused of the always grievous crime of opposing a popular war. He appears as the man who tempted fate by espousing the idea of peace with Troy. His destruction ensues naturally from the implacable enmity of the Greek leaders which he had incurred by this proposal. The attempt to orient this trait in the Cycle, to trace its literary lineage in Callimachus and other contributors to the saga has reached only negative results.<sup>40</sup> All we can say with assurance is that by the time of the early principate there was known to a Latin writer a logical variant upon the Palamedes myth, which visualized that princeling as the peace-seeker who reaped condign punishment for his irenic sentiments.

Having thus met the first of our three tests, currency of the myth, let us consider the second *desideratum*, likelihood of topical allusion. The answer is strongly in the affirmative; the allusion is, once more, to Nero. In the first place, we know that Nero "sang the woes of Nauplius."<sup>41</sup> This means that he rehearsed the lay of Palamedes, for the father's vengeance was only a brief sequel to the saga of the greater son. Secondly, the performance of the *Nauplius* can be dated to the second Neronia in 65 A.D.<sup>42</sup> That means that Palamedes possessed for Petronius' readers the filip of recency. He was a fresh subject in more ways than one! In the third place, although evidence is unavailable as to *how* Nero treated his theme, one is tempted to conjecture that like Vergil (Vergil and Nero!) he chose the peace-maker version of the Palamedes story. At all events,

<sup>39</sup> *Heroicus* 10 (p. 308-312, ed. Kayser). Tzetzes' lengthy depositions on Palamedes are derived almost wholly from Philostratus, according to Heinrich Grentrup, *De Heroici Philostrati Fabularum Fontibus* (Diss., Münster, 1914) 69-78.

<sup>40</sup> Ferdinand Noack, "Der griechische Diktys," *Philol.*, Suppl. 6 (1893) 425.

<sup>41</sup> Suetonius *Nero* 39.

<sup>42</sup> Rogers *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36) 54.

<sup>37</sup> Apollodorus *Epitome* 6.8-11. On Nauplius, see Preller *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 17).

<sup>38</sup> Petronius 38.8-11.

Seneca represents the Roman emperor as boasting of *haec tot milia gladiatorum quae pax mea comprimit*.<sup>43</sup> Be that as it may, our quest of topical reference seems fulfilled. In projecting Palamedes into the freedmen's chatter Petronius scored a direct hit at Nero, whose representation of that hero, one supposes, must have been from the standpoint of public relations rather ghastly, transpiring as it did immediately after the great conflagration, when Nero's popularity reached its lowest ebb.

Notice of the tradition of Palamedes as war-resister brings us to the last part of our conundrum—the relationship of *pax* to Palamedes. Our scrutiny of that tradition predisposes us to identify *pāx* as the noun, and to consider the two words together as a pregnant gird like "O that *Peace of Palamedes* which we had to listen to!" Yet virtually every commentator until lately has reiterated that our word here is only the comic interjection *pāx!* ("enough!" or "silence!"). A very recent study, however, suggests the conclusion that the interjection *pāx*, though related etymologically to the Greek homonym, was both semantically and phonetically a practical doublet of the noun *pāx*; further, that it came to be associated with the latter in the feeling of writers like Petronius, Apuleius, and Ausonius. Eventually the interjection gave place to the literary word.<sup>44</sup> The inference can be drawn that *Pax Palamedes* is indeed one more jibe—and not one of the subtlest—at Nero's musicianship. At the moment when Habinnas ejaculates "Enough said (*pāx*)!" he appends, as it were by afterthought, a seeming *gaucherie*, the name of Palamedes. This, sheer nonsense by itself, was seen in a trice by the Roman audience (trigger-quick, as we have seen, in comprehending veiled political allusions) to impart, by the combination, an added significance to the whole context—the curiously unexpected relevance of the irrelevant, an exercise in remembered meanings. By exquisite indirection we now have a pronouncement of judgment. "Enough said! O Palamedes!" stands in the cold type. But at the same time (or upon an instant's thought) what the *conoscenti* heard, with that sudden, poignant shock which is the essence of wit, was "O the 'Peace,' the 'Palamedes' [of that man Nero]!"<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Clem.* 1.1.2.

<sup>44</sup> Ettore Paratore, *Maia* 1 (1948) 144-145. Paratore points out that Plautus (*Trin.* 889-891) already punned on the two meanings of the word.

<sup>45</sup> The Editor of *CW* has brought to my attention a curious parallel between *Pax Palamedes* as I interpret it and a bit of word-play in Pailleron's *Le monde ou l'on s'ennuie* (Act 2, Scene 1, lines 321-322 ed. R. Werner, Bielefeld 1904). On hearing that Gaïac has been named poet laureate by the *Académie Française*, Jeanne exclaims to Paul, "Lauréat!" Paul replies, "Mediocritas!" The combination *lauréat médiocritas*, meaningless in itself, is homophonous in French pronunciation with *l'aurea mediocritas*. The Horatian phrase is of course also meaningless in the context, but Paul obviously uses it to suggest that Gaïac is a mediocrity; cf. Werner *op. cit.*, Anhang, p. 15, n. 74. I join the

One hardly knows whether to describe Petronius' manner as satire or comic reminiscence. There is no question of personal invective, seemingly no malice. It is difficult to know how far the author's intent is serious. Petronian realism and social observation: what are they if not a developed and inimitably subtle blend of perceptive characterization, combativeness, insouciance, raillery, and mimesis, all in the highest good humor well commingled? These pleasant aspects of the Arbiter's humor seem none of them to exclude his laying of droll hands upon all and sundry: professors and undertakers, local magnificos and wood-carriers, poets, favorites of the court, and even its very master himself—these latter with an archness and allusiveness that render it as difficult in the demonstration as it was delicious in the savoring to the initiate and the discerning.

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

#### SCANSION DEPENDS ON SYLLABLE LENGTH

The recent article in *CW* 44 (1950/51) 81-85 by J. F. C. Richards on "Latin Verse Composition" should, by its enthusiasm and its interesting suggestion, promote more work in a fascinating field.

In discussing the quantity of syllables, Richards has followed the venerable tradition of the best English authorities on Verse Composition. This tradition is mistaken simply in its habit of speaking as if the quantity of the vowel were the only factor which determined length for metrical purposes.

The facts of the case are not complicated. They are as follows:

1. Latin verse depends upon the length of syllables.
2. Syllables are either long or short.
3. A syllable is assumed to be short unless proved to be long.
4. A syllable is long if
  - (a) It contains a long vowel, e.g., both syllables of *dōnō*.
  - (b) It contains a diphthong, e.g., the first syllable of *Caesar*.
  - (c) It ends in a consonant, e.g., the first syllable of *currit*.

Richards and his authorities follow the facts in (a) and (b). Their statements do not show an understanding of (c). They plainly state that in such syllables the vowel is long, feeling, as stated above, that length must lie in the vowel. Thus we find it said (84,

Editor in thanking Professor René Taupin of Hunter College for his kindness in tracking down the French passage.

§1b) that "a vowel can never be short before two consonants like *sc*, *sm*, *sp*, *st* . . . ." No better illustration can be given than this to show the confusion of *vowel* length and *syllable* length. This confusion is unfortunate and this brief article is intended to clear it up.

To make sure that we understand about division of words into syllables, it will suffice to say that if a single consonant stands between vowels, the consonant goes with the following vowel, e.g., *ma-nus*; *re-git*. If more than one consonant stands between vowels, the first of these goes with the preceding vowel, while the others go with the following vowel, e.g., *vir-tūs*, *cas-tra*. The treatment of stop plus liquid as a single consonant, e.g., *pa-trem* is well enough known to need no discussion here.

We now see that the first syllable of *virtūs* and the first syllable of *castra* are long, because they end in consonants. The *vowels* of these same syllables are short.

Note also that in scanning and dividing into syllables, a line of poetry is treated as though it were all one word. Thus, to cite the line used by Richards (84, §1d), *dat pater ipse viam*, the syllable *dat* is long since, in dividing into syllables, we find two consonants between the *-a-* of *dat* and the *-a-* of *pater*; the first consonant goes with the vowel preceding and the second goes with the vowel following. But the final *-r* of *pater* is a single consonant, between the *-e-* of *pater* and the *i-* of *ipse*; hence, it goes with the *i-*. This line would look like this if divided into syllables: *dat / pa / te / rip / se / vi / am*. We find that *dat* and *rip* end in consonants; therefore they are long. It is certainly not true at all to say, as does Richards, "though the vowel in *dat* is short, it becomes long before two consonants, if it is placed before *viam*." It is idle to discuss the matter any further, since the vowel of *dat* is always short: you cannot say that it is long and tell the truth. I repeat, it is the *syllable dat* which is long.

This correction, be it said, is not intended to detract from the able exposition or the sound instruction in the writing of good verse which Richards has given us.

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## ARCHIMEDES ON SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

"Mr. Lind quotes a recent president of the American Physical Society: 'Society is the servant of science even more and in a more fundamental sense than is science the servant of society'" (*CH* 44 [1950/51] 43).

Let those scientists who agree with the quoted dictum, in all of its "appalling implications," consider the attitude of Archimedes toward "practical" science, the attitude

of a man, that is, whose weapons alone were employed by the Syracusans against the Roman attack. That the Romans, who "seemed to be fighting against the gods" (*Plut. Marc.* 16.2), finally prevailed, and that all the ingenious devices of Archimedes proved yet another Maginot Line, suggests that some re-evaluation of atomic bomb thinking in this country may be indicated. Says Plutarch (*Marc.* 17.3-6, Loeb trans.):

And yet Archimedes possessed such a lofty spirit, so profound a soul, and such a wealth of scientific theory, that although his inventions had won for him a name and a fame for superhuman sagacity, he would not consent to leave behind him any treatise on this subject, but regarding the work of an engineer and every art that ministers to the needs of life as ignoble and vulgar, he devoted his earnest efforts only to those studies, the subtlety and charm of which are not affected by the claims of necessity. These studies, he thought, are not to be compared with any others; in them the subject matter vies with the demonstration, the former supplying grandeur and beauty, the latter precision and surpassing power . . . [He was] in very truth a captive of the Muses.

Perhaps the efforts of our physicists may yet provide an Ozymandias for some latter-day Shelley.

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## REVIEWS

### Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts.\*

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by KURT VON FRITZ and ERNST KAPP. ("The Hafner Library of Classics," No. 12 [13?].) New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1950. Pp. xii, 233. \$1.25 (paper), \$2.50 (cloth).

Built around Aristotle's *Constitution*, the book is meant primarily for students of political philosophy; hence the addition of Heracleides' *Epitome*, the opening of Plato's seventh *Epistle*, and fragments of the *Protrepticus*, *Politicus*, *Alexander*, and the lost beginning of the *Constitution*.

The Preface explains the volume's organization and notes recent significant study by Jacoby and Oliver. The Selected Bibliography is restricted to the most important work since Sandys (1912).

The Introduction (pp. 3-66) is concerned chiefly with the development of Aristotle's political thought. The authors believe that the *Constitution*, our most important source for Athenian constitutional history, was written by Aristotle himself, though not for publication in its present form. They accept Chapter 4 as Aristotelian.

\* [ED. NOTE: For a discussion of Stecchini's translation of *Arist. Ath. Pol.* and *Ps.-Xen. Ath. Pol.* ("The Old Oligarch") see the next review.]

The translation (equipped with brief footnotes), though free, is fundamentally sound. In 23.2 *akontôn Lakedaimonion* means "the Lacedaemonians being unwilling to keep the leadership" (Gomme, *Commentary I* 272).

The notes of the Appendix (the real commentary) are nicely balanced; they elucidate the text but avoid controversy. In note 69 (on 24.3) the difficulty is exaggerated; the tribute was only part of the revenue from the allies (cf. Thucydides 2.13.2). The second figure of 700 in 24.3 (n. 71) may well be right; see B. D. Merritt and Others, *The Athenian Tribute Lists III* (Princeton 1950) 146. "Aristotle would have expressed this differently" is in any case an unwarranted assertion. In 25.3 (n. 74; cf. p. 24) the most attractive solution is to recognize that the careers of Themistocles and Pericles have been contaminated (cf. *Politics* 1274a); it is hopeless to attempt to force Themistocles into the chronology.

The related texts have introductions and notes. The Index of Names and Places and the General Index are confined to the translations.

The mechanical workmanship invites criticism: form is erratic (see the Selected Bibliography), spellings vary, English is often bad ("as to" is not a preposition), commas are inserted at random, dates are given inconsistently. Strict adherence to Latinized names produces Lesbus, Probuli, Scyros, Nice. Proof was read carelessly. The volume seems to be number 12 in the series, although the spine and page ii bear 13.

I lack space to discuss further details of interpretation. The authors know what they are doing and their contribution is provocative and worth reading. I shall not hesitate to recommend this book.

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**Athēnaion Politeia: The Constitution of the Athenians.**† Translated by LIVIO CATULLO STECCHINI. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950. Pp. 112. \$2.50.

"My aim has been to make the documents accessible to the general reader and to provide him with the end result of recent scholarly criticism" (Preface). What Stecchini means is that he has demonstrated the perverse stupidity of modern scholars while sharing with his readers the truth as it has been authoritatively revealed to him.

Among those whose views and methods are scornfully brushed aside are Gomme, Frisch, Meyer, Sandys, Beloch,

† [ED. NOTE: Included under this title are *Ps.-Xen. Ath. Pol.* ("The Old Oligarch") and *Arist. Ath. Pol.* For a discussion of von Fritz and Kapp's translation of the latter work and related texts, see the preceding review.]

Dorjahn, Thomson, Jacoby, Westlake, and Fränkel. So many problems have been "made unnecessarily complicated by interpreters"; so many scholars "have missed the essential point"; "they contribute only to confuse a very simple problem"; "the methodological premise of the 'modernizing' historians" is partly to blame, partly it is the "shortcomings in the prevailing style of hermeneutics of classical historical texts."

The Introduction to the translation of the "Old Oligarch" soon teaches us how easy are these problems that have worried scholars for half a century. The essay "has the literary form of an oration"; it is "the product of a superior thinker and powerful writer," composed as "an invitation to make peace" in the second half of 431 B.C.; the author is Thucydides son of Melesias, "an owner of ships, deeply interested in Athenian trade and in the life of the empire, . . . ready to fight to the last for the policy of aggressive imperialism" in preference to accepting total dissolution of the empire; the discourse is not sophistic but "is organized according to the form of medical treatises." All this, smug and conclusive, in nine pages! Stecchini cites Gomme's study; this book does not suggest that he has understood it.

The treatment of Aristotle is in the same tone, as are the commentaries on both works; apart from the genuinely controversial passages, there are too many downright misstatements for citation here. The translation of the "Old Oligarch" is adequate.

The arrogance of this book repels, the proof has been read incompetently, the punctuation is erratic, the printing is shoddy, the indices are of little use.

Scorn for others requires sound argument supported by evidence. Genuine scholarship does not pronounce superficial judgments by fiat; at its best it is accompanied by respect for colleagues and the humility born of patient toil. There is no humility here.

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR.

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**City-State and World State in Greek and Roman Political Theory until Augustus.** By MASON HAMMOND. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. x, 217. \$4.00.

Hammond explains at length in his Introduction and repeatedly reminds the reader later that his rather full title is seriously meant. The theory, not the practise, of government in the ancient world is his theme.

The book is an amplification of the author's Lowell Institute Lectures of 1948. Today's great political question, the achievement of a world organization, led to the choice of the general subject and gives point to the author's conclusion that stagnation and decay must result when "orthodox political theory fails to progress in re-

sponse to changed political conditions." The advance of political theory in the Graeco-Roman world was prevented by the great prestige of the ideas of the city-state and of the mixed constitution.

The reader will be interested and edified by the systematic exposition of ancient political theory. Enough is said of political practise to show that theory was not idle speculation, but was based on experience. The author has tried faithfully to do justice to conflicting views on the subject. The strength of the book lies in its careful exposition.

A weakness is evident, however, at the several points where the assertion is made that the great authority acquired by the theory of the city-state with a mixed constitution stood in the way of the progress of theory (e.g., pp. 20, 23, 52-53, 79-80, 97, 125, 164-165). I wish that the author had felt that he had room to develop his argument in explicit and rigid form at these points, for they are the most important points in the book. Unfortunately he tends to be rather brief each time he concludes that old theory stood in the way of progress. An argument of this kind should show that conditions were such that thoughtful men would have been led by them to a new theory if old theory had not obscured their vision. It should show that some *specified* new theory could have been developed in that intellectual climate, barring the dominance of the old theory. This is what we should have liked Hammond to do for us in detail on the basis of his long activity in this field of study.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD

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**Vesta.** By ANGELO BRELICH. Translated into German by V. VON GONZENBACH. ("Albae Vigiliae," N. S., No. 7.) Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1949. Pp. 120. S. Fr. 9.50.

This study stems directly from Brelich's earlier volume dealing with the secret, protecting divinity of Rome (*Die geheime Schutzgottheit von Rom* [Zürich 1949], reviewed *CW* 45 [1951/52] 8). The method of analysis used there is again followed for Vesta. In this "goddess of the hearth" we are really concerned with a divinity whom the Romans *dearum maximam putaverunt* (August. *De civ. D.* 7.16). She is to be connected, however, Brelich argues, with the light of heaven and the cycle of the sun. Her festival on June 9, the Vestalia, coming fifteen days before the summer solstice, is to be associated with that of Janus, the Agonium of January 9, which takes place fifteen days after the winter solstice. Thus the concept of Vesta is involved with basic elements of cosmic existence, the heavens, the sun, the horizon, darkness and light. Her *aedes* (not an augural

*templum*) is round, in imitation of the horizon of man's world (Brelich limits his discussion to the public cult of Vesta). Essential to her cult are two cosmic elements, fire and water. She is the basic female element of existence (*mater* and *virgo*). Her male partner in the Lectisternium of 217 B.C. is Vulcan, who is the God of fire and is phallic in nature, and she is connected with Priapus, again phallic in character, whose sacred animal, the ass, is also vital in her cult. Actually her opposite is the anonymous divine power, the indispensable male element, the *fascinus* itself. Brelich sees comprehended in the sphere of Vesta the original essence, the very source of every existing thing, indeed the foundation of the Roman state itself. Such a view is argued by the author with amazing conviction and erudition, but with little substantiation in fact to support the conclusions reached.

ELIZABETH C. EVANS

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**Freundschaftsbewährung in der neuen attischen Komödie: Ein Kapitel hellenistischer Ethik und Humanität.** By FRIEDRICH ZUCKER. (= *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse*, Band 98, Heft 1.) Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950. Pp. 38. DM 360.

Friendship is a very common element of plot in Roman Comedy, and presumably also in the parent Greek New Comedy. Friendships of all sorts abound: between young men, as in the *Trinummus* and the *Adelphi*, between old men, as in the *Andria*, between young and old, as in the *Miles Gloriosus*, even between master and slave, as in the *Captivi*. In this monograph, Friedrich Zucker studies examples of friendship in nineteen plays and fragments, less for the sake of shedding interpretive light on the plays than, as his sub-title suggests, of adding to our knowledge of Hellenistic concepts of friendship by bringing together the evidence of the dramatists. In the New Comedy, Zucker finds, friendship follows a fairly consistent pattern, and its duties are serious indeed: a friend feels responsibility for his friend's behavior and reputation; any moral delinquencies of his partner call for deep grief and earnest reproach; it is the partner's duty, in turn, to accept such reproach in the proper spirit. Friends are expected to defend the good name of one another against unfair attack. Any violation of the proprieties of friendship is cause for bitter self-reproach.

The summary of the conditions of friendship in the New Comedy is the only substantial contribution of Zucker's work. As dramatic criticism the study has little value. Some attempt is made to establish connec-

tions between drama and philosophy, and a few interesting parallels are given between the dicta of philosophers and the situations dramatized by the poets. Unfortunately, however, the treatise which in Zucker's opinion had most influence on New Comedy is one that we know very little about, Theophrastus' three books *On Friendship*.

Misprints are numerous, especially in Greek quotations, and twice (pp. 5 and 13) references are given to the *Andria* when the *Adelphi* is meant.

GORDON KIRKWOOD

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### GENERAL

**Davenport, Basil (ed.).** *The Portable Roman Reader.* 667 pages. New York: Viking, 1951 (Viking Portable Library) \$2.50

**FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL  
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For the announcement of the meeting, and details concerning hotel and dinner reservations (which must be made before April 10), please see page 185 of this volume. Plan to attend!

**Yale Classical Studies, Vol. 12.** Edited by Alfred R. Bellinger and Harry M. Hubbell. 265 pages, 2 plates. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951 \$4.00

### ANCIENT AUTHORS

**Aeschylus.** I Persiani. Introduzione, commento e analisi metrica di Filippo Maria Pontani. xx, 201 pages. Rome: Bonacci, 1951 500 L.

**Aristotle.** *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.* Critical text and translation of *The Poetics* by S. H. Butcher; with a prefatory essay by John Gassner. 4th ed., 497 pages. New York: Dover Publications, 1951 \$4.50

—, Lukasiewicz, Jan. *Aristotle's Syllogistic from the Standpoint of Modern Formal Logic.* xi, 141 pages, tables. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951 15s.

**Euripides.** Helen. A translation by Rex Warner. 88 pages. London: J. Lane, 1951 7s. 6d.

—, The Trojan Women. A new dramatic translation by F. Kinchin Smith. xiv, 50 pages. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1951 3s. 6d.

**New Testament.** St. Mark's Gospel. A new translation from the Greek by E. V. Rieu. 66 pages. London: Allen and Richard Lane, 1951

**Pindar.** Untersteiner, Mario. *La formazione poetica di Pindaro.* 124 pages. Florence: G. D'Anna, 1951 900 L.

**Plato.** La Barbe, Jules. *L'Homère de Platon.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951 (Bibl. de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 117) 1000 fr.

—, Socrates and the Soul of Man, incorporating Plato's *Phaedo* translated by Desmond Stewart, with an introduction by E. A. Havelock. 105 pages. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951 \$2.00

—, The Symposium. A new translation by W. Hamilton. 122 pages. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1952 50¢

—, Müller, Gerhard. *Studien zur den Platonischen Nomoi.* 194 pages. Munich: Beck, 1951 (Zetemata, H. 3) 15 M.

—, Olerud, Anders. *L' idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos dans le Timée de Platon.* Étude de mythologie comparée. vii, 236 pages. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1951 15 Kr.

—, Plato Arabus. Vol. 1: Galeni compendium Timaei Platonis, aliorumque dialogorum synopsis quae extant fragmenta. Edidit Richard Walzer. London: Warburg Institute, 1951 47s. 6d.

**Plutarch.** Micardi, Benvenuto. *Plutarco nelle opere morali.* 195 pages. Brescia: La scuola, 1951 250 L.

**Prudentius.** Prudence. *Oeuvres complètes.* T. 4: Le livre des couronnes, Dittochaëon. Epilogue. Texte

- établi et traduit par M. Lavarenne. 384 pages. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951 600 fr.
- Quintilian.** The Institutio Oratoria of Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, with an English summary and concordance by Charles Edgar Little. 2 vols., 364, 286 pages. Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1951 \$6.00
- Sophocles.** The Antigone. A dramatic translation by F. Kinchin Smith. 68 pages, ill. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951 60c
- Terence.** Robbins, Edwin W. Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, 1473-1600. ix, 122 pages. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951 (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 35.4)
- Tertullian.** Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage. Translated by William P. Le Saint. 203 pages. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1951 (Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. 13) \$3.00
- Vergil.** Austin, Roland. The Fourth Book of the "Aeneid." A lecture delivered to the Virgil Society. 24 pages. Oxford: Blackwell, 1951 2s. 6d.
- LINGUISTICS. GRAMMAR. METRICS
- Aalto, Pentti.** Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum. 193 pages. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1949 (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, Vol. 62, Fasc. 3)
- Platnauer, Maurice.** Latin Elegiac Verse. A study of the metrical usages of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. viii, 122 pages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951 \$3.00
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- Askew, Gilbert.** The Coinage of Roman Britain. With two appendices: The Roman Governors of Britain, by E. Birley; "Barbarous Radiates" in Britain, by V. Philip. 94 pages, ill. London: Seaby, 1951 12s. 6d.
- Bibliographie papyrologique.** 3<sup>e</sup> envoi de l'exercice 1951, avec complément des années antérieures. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1951
- Carey, Michael.** The Emperors of Rome. 146 pages. Los Angeles: Wetzel, 1951 \$3.00
- Papiri greci e latini.** Vol. 12, fasc. 3, nos. 1272-1295. A cura di Vittorio Bartoletti. 95-283 pages, 7 plates. Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1951
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- TEXTBOOKS
- Caesar.** Caesar at Alexandria (De Bello Alexandrino 1-33). Edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by J. C. Wykes. xxiii, 94 pages, ill., maps. London: Macmillan, 1951 3s. 4d.
- Ernout, Alfred and François Thomas.** Syntaxe latine. xvi, 416 pages. Paris: Klincksieck, 1951
- Lactantius.** Selectims from Lactantius' Divinae Institutiones. With introduction, commentary and vocabulary by W. T. Radius. xviii, 139 pages. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1951
- McDermott, Wm. C., and W. E. Caldwell.** Readings in the History of the Ancient World. xxii, 489 pages. New York: Rinehart, 1951 \$4.00
- Sidgwick, A., and J. F. Mountford.** Introduction to Greek Prose Composition, with Exercises. New edition, with enlarged vocabulary. xv, 294 pages. London: Longmans, Green, 1951 \$2.50
- Sykes, Gordon.** A Three Year Latin Vocabulary. 80 pages. London: Edward Arnold, 1951 2s. 9d.

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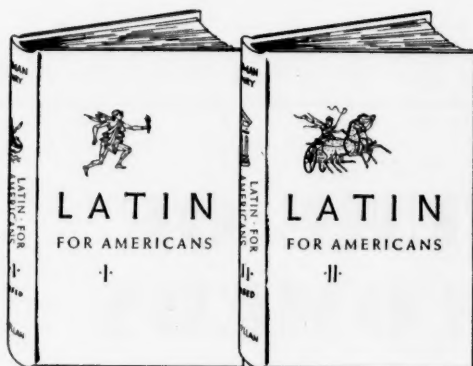
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